Eighth Chapter

The Two Bolobó Villages. — March to the Ikassendjo. — The Second Bolobó Village.

In the report of Joh Compton to Francis about a trip from Bolobó to the source region of the Ubobbiro in the year 1768, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bolobó, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Nieve Congo discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingó (Kingo), he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapoyan (Tayopo) and the Tocantins, called "Iacuriz" and "dos Mortos," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingó. — In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1778, the "Bacuriyas" on the Ikassendjo are recorded.

A year de Cassi notes about our tribe in 1817: — "The Bacuriyas, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio dos Mortos, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[illegible]

to the Lwenano. It is said that they are often not friendly; one never why they are regarded as a branch of the Fwenge."

Mention has been living at the settlement centre of the Ochingi and also has been at the source of the Lotoo and Lenano. He also classifies [illegible] them under the Fwenge /Fwenge/ who are scattered across the watershed between Lwenano, Kimbiza, and Fwengwa.

Now it turns out that placing the Fwenge and the Ochingi together in this way was erroneous. The well known Ochingi district of the Ochingi, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are situated north of the Lwenano River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, live in the source region of the Kimbiza. I myself was familiar only with the name of Ochingi, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

Ochingi village.

and how many hours I would have good pondering over it part.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Ingwanda — who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my intentions — had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Ingwanda was a good person, intelligent, and held the rank of his chieftainship in many personal lands.

/87 cont./

Indeed on all sidelights of the eastern source region of the Tapajos and as to be found only in the region of the pioneer above the rapids and cataracts that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Tapajos/.

The word Beleté have been known since the late reading expeditions of the "Bandeiras," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed inward from the province of S. Paulo as they have back at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico
XXX, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1867.

"also the experience of so many years," had heard of them. After he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes — today long since disappeared — of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Vermelho emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Beleyris, who live on the tributaries of the Guaraihos (sic!), and from there on various nations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Beleté are also mentioned in a report from the year 1741 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Beleté must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until the beginning of the twenties in our century. At that time

[illegible]

[illegible] enemies of the Suiadí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Xerénte and Txpunhime, enemies of the Apinayé, lived in the Araguaia region, of the Txpunhime, [illegible] says that they spoke the Suiadí

[illegible]

* [illegible] de Pernambuco de 1860 [illegible]
Recife, 1864, p. [illegible]

language. Unfortunately no more even even made on the language of the Suiadí, no claim on that of the Txpunhime, //[illegible]// and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Suiadí.

A statement in the Suiadí volume of the famous Dicionário da Língua Tupinica (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 9) is worth mentioning. It refers to the tribe of the Mundurucú /Mundurucu/, once found by and with, which today are along the middle and lower Tapajos, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1871, remarks "In former times they also associated the Suiadí, whom they call Maroitáuara and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they [illegible] settled in villages." The latter addition shows that the can only refer to events of relatively recent times, as the Brazilian did. We should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Suiadí lived in the province of Pará, among the Apiacás along the lower Tapajos, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso", the Mundurucú themselves lived next to the Apiacás in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Paranhos, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Sangue area with their attacks. The Suiadí, who called them "Mandurucú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

The chief enemies of the west Suiadí, and probably even of the united Suiadí, if the tradition is correct, were the Apiacás. "Unacquainted savages in the vicinity of the Salto," says the report of the Diretoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

were said to have been killed and the rifle fell to the Ashanga. Dyamutiba, the chief's father of the Ka Kowa village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with himself's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event could have occurred in the last quarter of the century.

In the south and southeast the West Bakairi evidently had friendly relations with the Ka'apor of the Gurupi. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of the tribe, there is nothing known about the Ka'apor having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Caraibas" on the branches of the upper Gurupi, but the Bakairi, who were necessarily better informed, designated the tribe as "Kaikiby" = Ka'apor, and they also call the upper river of the Paranatinga running farther from the east the Ka'apor River. The same Ka'apor are spoken of unfavorably by the Kuikuro Bakairi, as the latter informed me.

Finally, I tried to find out how far the plains of the West Bakairi extend to the east. The Parecis are well known to them as old neighbors. To the east beyond Diamantino, behind the Parecis, live the "Waimaré" and "Enaré," it was said. They allegedly are the relatives of the Parecis, a statement which is incorrect for the "Waimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Parecis. The "Enaré" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Paiaiatan," likewise unknown. The informant pushed forward so far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Paiaiatan lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Cuniã is very remarkable. A very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Bacairão, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. C.E. page 634.

This is all that I could learn from the West Bakairi about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions the Aiketé Bakairi were settled at the sabe of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

16 Boiuna-Cobra	110	Rapids at Mani and Campo de Caiçara	60
15 Cayapó	200	Between mouth of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paraguay	600
14 Caracára	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
17 Bacahuh	200	Source region of Paraguay	200
18 Caipotí	?	Source region of Paraguay	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecis	400
20 Paraim	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecis	250
21 Mamiahuh	600		600
22 Cahuhi	300		300
23 Santiaguado	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Amazon)	600
24 Taperhuna	800	Ribeirão (Jauru) dos Taperhunas (to the Amazon)	800
25 Apiacas	2700	Juruena and Juruena	2700
26 Mingueira	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guatayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Canamary	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacás	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Canichi	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Campinas	1200	Both of the Mamoré and Madeira	1200
33 Andirás	?	South of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		9670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the Cataract of Santo Antonio.

and by means of gifts to lure them to a distance of ten or the leagues do [illegible], there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1845, today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by hoe and arrow.

15. Coroados. Between Pound and Pomahyba and in the eastern region of the S. Lourenço and Tieguary. Some are sent to the Descimento detachment of troops on the Piquiry, others in the Porto do Pomahyba on the road to S. Paulo, all live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, manihoca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadu (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many lure themselves out. Some villages which are entitled to the Convoi are probably carried out by them.

16. Caingáhs. On the sources of the various tributaries of the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics little is known; they flee or are hostile, but flees up to 20 leagues from Cuyabá. Hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

17. Bacahiris. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition. Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquáras, Tapaiúnas, and Cajabís. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, manihoca, batatas, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or hardwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (multo poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Felicitana Gustobina Pereira Coutl, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper Arinos* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the

18. Cajabís, [illegible] savages in the vicinity of the Sah[illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] respect to the piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to supplement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publications. The Bakairí Antônio, who was my faithful companion [illegible] on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Diogo Dantas Post, undertook to conduct the Kayabí [illegible], and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí born on the Rio Kuliseu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kuliseu in the year 1901. I also encountered [illegible] year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village Murimuriu, on the Rio Kuliseu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my term stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long known connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Batovy and Kuliseu river. This fact had such an incisive

[12 cont.]

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of community, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 30 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate this transformation. We are acquainted in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Carlupe Reginaldo and, especially, Carlupe Antonio and his stepson Ind Cannado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí who have their homes in the region east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Carlupe Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 177 619 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any European influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien 114 175 619 [642] [113] (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was reestablished when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 101 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

/13 cont./

161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [731] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

/14 cont./

195 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 [177] The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./
105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von [115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

/15 cont./

175 648

12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

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172 361

173 648 726

14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

/16 cont./

correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon, are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Arwak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

175 722 727 563 179

/17 cont./ the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women, captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 166 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the 175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his 175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be- 619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal [128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

175 /17 cont./
219 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/18 cont./

175 622 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his [648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper 175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio 622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to 648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the 159

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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265). p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

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175 159 622 648 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Kanvako, and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí, in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Iourenzo /São Iourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 166 Already in the last decade of the past century, when Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6 Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem, "Bericht über seine zweite

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio-Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

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175 648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

114 36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of the two aldea of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

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131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

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000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [144] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

● 175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

[P.90-A]

	Men	Men	Women	Children	Total
Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	29
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	227

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utsudri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisé*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tasóru*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kudoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kudoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kdiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,